19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

751
825 In visiting labor camps in the course of this study, the writer saw Papago babies lying on the ground on a blanket in the shade of a camp cabin with flies in
[854] clusters at their eyes and nostrils while the mother went about her work. Papago women were seen cooking
[252] with flies buzzing freely around, and the daily pot
[262] of frijoles often sat on a spotless oilcloth table cover with flies zooming in through an open door to the feast.

751 In fact, in the heat of late Arizona summer and
362 early fall--the serious fly season--the doors of labor
825 camp cabins are closed only when no one is in the cabin. Every breath of air is precious in the oppressive heat. This is true among the Desert People even when they live in excellent concrete block cabins with spacious screened windows and screen doors. They seem to hold a somewhat Steinish concept that a door is a door is a door is a door, whether wood or screen, and they prop open a screen door to let in air just as they would a wooden door.

[659] This all points to the big job the Indian Bureau school and medical service still must do in educating Papago mothers and children to the dangers of the ordinary housefly.

That lack of cabin screening, and Papago lack of knowledge of its necessity is really serious in the labor camps is convincingly shown by other sanitary conditions--or their lack--in these rural slum towns.

TOILET FACILITIES

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[466] Whatever the construction of houses in their camps, Pima and Pinal county labor camp operators provide very much the same kind of toilet facilities. In fact, they are almost unanimous in digging a pit and erecting over it the unpainted, rustic outhouse of folklore. Over 95% of the camps in the area exhibit outhouses as alike as boards sawed from the same log.[1] A few long established farmers making a life-time career of their land provided plumbing for their laborers--significant chiefly for proving that it can be done.[2] They had small cotton plantings and hired few pickers.

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[1] Based on: 20 of 21 camps in Pinal county and 22 of 23 in Pima, or 95%.

[2] Basis: 1 of 21 in Pinal and 1 of 23 in Pima county, 4%.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

• 514 In Pima county the old-fashioned backhouse provided each 3.3 cabins was located about 125 feet from the faucets where laborers obtained their water, and over 265 feet from the well supplying the water (in camps built at wells) and approximately 75 feet from the unscreened cabins themselves, on the average.[1]

[466] In Pinal county the big cotton operators provided a backhouse for every 6 cabins on the average[2]; only about half as many proportionately as in Pima county. They built these backhouses approximately 50 feet from the faucets supplying pickers with water and about the same distance from their cabins, but over 300 feet away from the wells.[3]

The only outhouses seen by this writer while visiting camps which were not of the unpainted variety of rural America several decades ago were leftovers from prisoner-of-war camps constructed during the recent
000 world struggle. At that time harvest labor was so short that some growers built labor camps for war prisoners willing to work in their fields.

> "To relieve war labor shortages and to harvest the bumper crops we needed, land armies of women, older men, and young people from nearby cities, prisoners of war, and Mexican and West Indian workers were recruited. Labor standards for prisoners are determined by the Geneva Convention and for foreign workers by international agreements between their own governments and ours. Under these agreements for foreign nationals, orderly recruiting is followed by physical examinations by competent physicians, and written contracts between individual workers and W. F. A. These contracts guarantee free transportation and housing of accepted standards, minimum wages, employment up to 75 percent of the contract period, subsistence when unemployed, regular wage payments, and now free

[1] Based on outhouse-cabin ratios for 11 camps, faucet-outhouse distance in 7, well-outhouse distance in 3, and outhouse-cabin distance in 6.
[2] Based on 16 camps.
[3] Based on faucet-outhouse distances from 4 camps, well-outhouse and cabin-outhouse distances from 7 camps.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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medical care. Thus, standards for both our 'good neighbors' and for our enemies are far higher than for our own countrymen."[1]

514 466 Certainly sanitary facilities in former prisoner-of-war camps in southern Arizona are far better than any built for American workers. Outhouses built under the Geneva Convention were large and airy, with half one side tightly screened, and the buildings were built well. The difference between the outhouses they build for their own countrymen and those they built for their wartime enemies is eloquent testimony as to the labor-be-damned attitude of southern Arizona cotton farmers, and to their eager quest after the dollers brought by their white gold. This difference is also vivid evidence of the benefits harvest laborers can derive from having an official protector. American migrant workers are protected by no Geneva Convention. They need one.

466 362 A further comment on a-social attitudes of Pima and Pinal county cotton growers is that at the time, the housing they built for war prisoners was the best yet constructed in the region for field laborers—concrete block had not yet come into use, being a post-war development. Although constructed for single men, war-time barracks have been converted for family use by American harvest hands. Where they have been maintained, these barracks or similar ones from airfields when refurbished are the best labor housing constructed of wood in southern Arizona.

514 The extent to which outhouses in labor camps in the region fall short of desirable standards is easily discerned by a glance at our suggested labor camp code:

"Article 4. Toilet Facilities

"(a) Separate toilet rooms containing water closets or privies shall be provided for each sex and shall be distinctly marked 'for men' and 'for women' by signs printed in English and in the native language of the persons occupying the camp. No person shall be allowed to use or frequent a toilet room or water closet assigned to the opposite sex.

"(b) The number of water closets or privies provided for each sex shall be based

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[1] U. S. Department of Labor, 1945, (no paging).

19: Dobyns E-5 (1960) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

• 514 on the maximum number of persons of that sex living in the camp at any one time, in the ratio of 1 to 20.

"(c) All water closets or privies shall be readily accessible to the living quarters and shall in no case be more than 200 feet distant from any shelter they serve, nor less than 150 feet from the nearest source of water supply, kitchen, or mess hall.

"(d) Each toilet room shall be lighted naturally, or artificially by a safe type of lighting, at all hours of the day and night. Adequate screened ventilation openings shall be provided.

"(e) An adequate supply of toilet paper shall be provided in each privy or water closet compartment."[1]

The labor camp outhouses are unlabeled (humorists in one camp had designated one for the "Foreman" in large white letters), and unlighted. Few are ventilated, and those which are usually are not screened.

GARBAGE DISPOSAL

364 In southern Arizona labor camps other health hazards than unscreened outhouses are numerous--thousands ot bits of garbage scattered about camp grounds. While harvest hands tend to purchase a high proportion of ready-to-eat foods to escape the serious difficulties of cooking in the camps (and end up with stomach disorders from eating prepared foods requiring refrigeration which doesn't exist in the camps), they still have an abundance of garbage left when they finish a meal. Its disposal is a sanitary problem not yet satisfactorily solved by labor camp owners. The suggested labor camp code we are holding southern Arizona camps up against for comparison furnishes a standard for this situation:

"Article 8. Garbage and Refuse Disposal for Shelters

"(a) Fly-tight metal containers approved by the State department of health shall be provided for the collection of garbage and re-

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 41.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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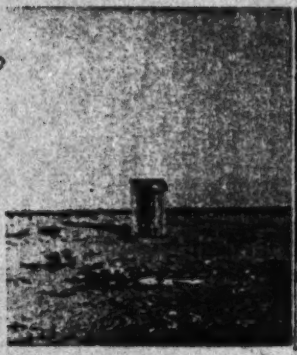

Cotton growers build outhouses . . . like obscene jokes on the landscape . . .

and the Desert People take a poor example home . . . in worse materials.

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Garbage cans were hardly fly-tight . . . or emptied often enough . . .

and when they were, not in sanitary places . . . but in washes like the Santa Cruz.

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515 PERSONAL HYGIENE--frequency and methods of bathing and laving; use of washing and bathing facilities; use of soap and other cleansers; use of towels; conception and idealization of cleanliness; miscellaneous hygienic practices (e.g., brushing of teeth, washing of hair, removal of body lice); etc. See also:

Bathing apparel 292
Laundering and cleaning 296
Hairdressing and cosmetics 302
Bathhouses 343
Soap manufacture 388
Bathing resorts 529
Ritual uncleanness and purification 783
Sexual hygiene 833
Sexual modesty 834
Menstrual hygiene 841
Cleanliness training of children 863

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

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539x

17. I lay on the ground;
A man came.
What will he do to take me?

18. An eagle is walking;
Toward me it is walking.
Its long feathers blow in the breeze.

A hawk is running;
Toward me it is running.
Its down feathers ruffle in the wind.

19. On a rocky mountain
An eagle flaps his wings.
There I flap with him.

On a yucca-clad mountain
A hawk ruffles his down feathers;
There I ruffle with him.

An eagle speaks.

20. On a black rock I lit.
My beautiful long feathers
Are cut.

A hawk speaks.

On a white rock I jumped.
My beautiful white down feathers
Are rumpled.

An eagle speaks.

21. I died and lay here.
I got up and looked upon the ground;
The ground lay stretched out green.

A hawk speaks.

I fell and lay here.
I got up and looked upon the mountains,
The mountains stood up yellow.

The songs were over at dawn. The guardian handed the prayer stick to the eagle killer and directed him to go and take a cold

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1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

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bath, after which his ordeal would be over. Then the guardian distributed the remaining eagle feathers to the singers, who might use them for arrows or for trade.[4]

[4] Eagle killing is still practiced by individuals scattered over the reservation.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

how hungry you are. Wait till it has scum on it. So you will be a runner and not a fat man." 159x 264

When we had finished we did not wash the dishes. How could we, with no water! We scooped food out with our knuckles. The boys used two knuckles because men have time to eat. We girls used three because women must hurry and work. When we were through it was only my father who could wipe his fingers between his toes. That was because he was a warrior and had killed enemies. The rest of us wiped them on the ground and rubbed our hands together. I do not like water on my dishes even now. They feel so smooth. [701]

Then we made our toilet. We washed our faces in a little cold water, but we did not bathe. Rubbing yourself with earth does just as well. Then the older girls painted themselves with beautiful red paint, all in dots and splashes. I went out to play. 159x 615 302

I played with the boys and girls who were children of my uncles. Brothers and sisters, we call them. We had no clothes, any of us, but we were not cold. We went to a sunny place and made ourselves dolls of mesquite leaves tied with strings of corn husk for arms and legs and head. We had a little stone for the grinding slab and some sand for the corn. The boys had men dolls and they would take them away and say: "We go hunting." "Well, go," said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. "Here is a deer for you." 159x 857 [291] [524]

Sometimes the boys went to get rats. They poked them out of the holes and hit them with sticks. Then we roasted them on sticks with the skins on. Good food, that used to be! [262]

Sometimes we went to run races. We had a good racetrack in our village. Our men had cleared a road that ran across the flat land as far as you could see, and every day they swept it with greasewood branches to keep off the thorns. They had a song: 159x 526 [533]

The hawk made the race-track
And on it we won
A-a-ah!

We ran with the hawk
And won a Hawk's heart
A-a-ah!

All our young men and girls practised on that racetrack so they could run fast against the other villages. We children ran, too. Every day I ran until I was ten years old and had to be doing the house work.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

thing goes by fours with our people, and Elder Brother arranged it that even this thing should be the same. No woman has trouble for more than four days. Then they gave me a bath just as they did to my father. Oh, it was cold in the winter time! I tell the girls who come of age in the summer they do not know what hardship is. The water even feels nice in summer.

My mother came in the dark of the morning with the water in a big new jar. The women had to run all day to get that water ready for me. I tried to get away, but my mother caught me and made me kneel down. Then she dipped a gourd in the jar and poured that cold water down over my forehead.

Hail!
I shall pour this over you.
You will be one who endures cold.
You will think nothing of it.

It is true, I have never felt cold.

Then my mother washed my hair with soapweed fibres. That is the way women should always wash their hair and it will never grow gray. She cut it so it came just to my shoulders, for we women cannot have hair as long as the men; it would get in our way when we work. But we like to have it thick and shiny, and we know that everybody is noticing. There was quite a lapful that my mother cut off, and she saved it to make hair ropes for our carrying baskets. She had new clothes for me; two pieces of unbleached muslin, tied around my waist with a string. We did not know how to sew in those days. We pinned them together over our hips with bought pins, but it was very modest.

Then I could go back to our house, only still I had to use the stick for four days and I could not eat salt. And then they danced me. All that month they danced me, until the moon got back to the place where it had been at first. It is a big time when a girl comes of age; a happy time. All the people in the village knew that I had been to the Little House for the first time, so they come to our house and the singer for the maidens came first of all.

That singer was the Chief's Leg, the man I told you about. He knew all the songs, the ones that Elder Brother first sang when he used to go over the country, dancing all the maidens. That Leg was the man who danced every maiden in our village when she came of age. His wife danced opposite him. She was the one who was to get the hair that my mother had cut off. He had another wife, too, but not such a good dancer.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

342 556 Thus the type of house is something of an index to the occupant's economic status. In the more prosperous eastern districts, adobe construction has been so widely accepted that a wattle house is a fairly sure sign that the occupants have a below-average income. In the western districts, however, a wattle house is far more often a sign of resistance to white culture. For example, at the time of this study all the houses in two of the most conservative villages in Hickiwan District were wattle-and-daub, regardless of the individual owner's economic status.

The type of house roof is also an index to prosperity or acculturation or both. Despite the fact that a roof of thatch overlaid with dirt is cooler in summer and warmer in winter, any eastern Papago who can possibly afford it will roof his house with wood, tar paper, or tin. There is one advantage in the white man's roof—it does not leak as much as a dirt roof.

The visitor can also see evidence of economic status and of attitude toward whites in the house furnishings. The poorer families and those antagonistic to white culture have dirt floors and few tables, chairs, beds, stoves, glass window panes, and "store" dishes. In relatively prosperous and acculturated homes—considerably more numerous in the East than in the West—house 352 556 furnishings may include a good stove, a kerosene refrigerator, a washing machine, and a phonograph or battery radio. In these homes, chairs, tables, beds, some type of stove, and "store" dishes are regarded as necessary for comfort; when families from such homes go to the cactus camp and do without these things, they feel that they are "camping out."

[778] In a Catholic home there is always a little altar, a small table or shelf draped with white. Here one sees *santos* or holy pictures, a candle in a red glass, and perhaps some paper flowers. An alarm clock, a pencil, and other odds and ends are not considered out of place here.

342 All houses and storerooms, however flimsily built, have doors and some [414] kind of lock. Storerooms are kept locked even during the day except when someone is working close by, and houses are locked when the family goes away for even part of a day. "No one from here would steal anything, but a stranger might."

356 House and yard are almost invariably neat and clean; even dirt floors are 515 sprinkled and swept every morning. The Papago also values personal neatness and cleanliness. Neither is easy to achieve in this dusty, water-scarce country.

513 Sleeping arrangements vary greatly according to personal predilection. Most people, except the very old, now have beds, but everyone can, and frequently does, sleep on the floor or the ground without discomfort. As a matter of fact, some of the beds are without mattresses or springs; the owners merely

[Text continues on p 44-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

The incidence of other disorders does not seem remarkable. The children's teeth were bad, no doubt, but such findings referred mostly to milk teeth, while only a relatively small percentage of older children showed dental decay. 164

However, certain chronic diseases were apparent which, because they are contagious, would constitute a grave danger for any community, even though

TABLE 2

FINDINGS OF MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS
(In Percentages of Total Number Examined)

Condition	Total Group	Eastern Children	Western Children
Good health*	7.1	8.2	5.0
Good nutrition	56.6	49.3	70.0
Fair nutrition	25.7	34.2	10.0
Poor nutrition	17.7	16.4	20.0
Malnutrition†	44.2	50.7	32.5
Impaired vision	6.2	8.2	2.5
Active trachoma	17.7	17.8	17.5
Arrested trachoma	16.8	19.2	12.5
Irregular teeth	51.3	54.9	45.0
Caries	33.6	39.7	22.5
Enlarged tonsils	41.6	35.6	52.5
Removed tonsils	17.7	27.4	
Swollen lymph glands	23.9	21.9	27.5
Suspected tuberculosis (lungs)‡	9.7	8.2	12.5
Valvular heart disease	2.6	2.7	2.5
Impetigo and ringworm	7.1	6.8	7.5
Colds§	35.4	30.1	45.0
Children examined (no.)	113	73	40

[146]

* No impairment except occasional irregularity of teeth.

† Evidence of marked vitamin deficiency, such as rickets, bleeding or ulcerated gums, fissure at corners of mouth (see p. 178 for discussion of nutritional states).

‡ As suggested by auscultation and percussion.

§ Acute colds with such symptoms as coryza, sore throat, or bronchitis.

the incidence were comparatively low. In Papago communities water is scarce or can be obtained only with difficulty, and frequent washing of hands, body, and kitchen utensils is a luxury. Particularly in wintertime, most persons sleep close together in one room, usually in the same clothes worn during the day. In such communities the significance and danger of communicable diseases is commensurately heightened. [515]

For a number of years tuberculosis has been recognized as threatening the very survival of the Indian population of the United States. Among the Papago children studied, almost 10 per cent were suspected of tuberculosis of the lungs. If these suspicions were verified by means of longer observation,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

The old man seemed glad to explain everything. He was also willing to sell me some of his treasures. One of them was a medicine-man's plume consisting of four eagle plumes tied together so that they diverged two by two. When used, these are held by the quill ends as a handle and moved in the air forward and backward as if dusting an object. When the young girls come of age they are "dusted" in this way from all evil. The implement was new and well made, and I wanted to buy it. "The plume is very valuable," he answered; "with us it is at least worth as much as a horse or a cow." He would, however, make it easy for me by letting me have it for $2.50. I presented him with a pouch of tobacco and a handful of candy, the cause of much interest to his little grandchildren who had been clinging to the good-natured old man all the time that he was explaining. He also promised to show me the so-called Montezuma's Cave, in the peak of Baboquivari, some day.

In a light wagon which Pablo borrowed we started on an excursion south, to be possibly extended beyond the border to Pozo Verde. The day was moist and warm. We passed several extensive summer rancherias or temporales as they are usually called. The rude fences of mezquite looked substantial and the Indian ranches gave an impression of prosperity. At two places there were dams also fenced in, but they were empty; they had been made by scooping up the rich soil with scrapers and horse-power. The water in such ponds lasts only three or four months and is not for irrigating purposes, but solely for the use of men and beasts. The

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

Papagoes do not bathe in them; during the rains they get their baths in the arroyos, men and women bathing separately. There was not a soul to be seen anywhere, as the Indians were still at this time, the end of June, in or near the mountains with their cattle and horses.

From a lately established summer rancheria, called San Miguel, southward, the country assumes a different aspect, forming beautiful grassy plains or downs. The mezquites, far apart and small, take the place of greasewoods and the cacti have almost disappeared. There was an abundance of very dry grass of a whitish yellow hue. As the air was laden with moisture, it was to be expected that the coloring of sky and mountains would be fine toward sunset. The western sky beamed with the translucent color of light yellow or orange, while the mountains, which during the glaring light of the day had shown no color beyond a dull gray, appeared deep blue. Much more intense than the air-blue and complementary to that of the setting sun, the color extended to all the mountains around the great *bajio* (basin), while at its western edge a long narrow strip of light green, due to an unusual growth of mezquites, added to the variety. To most people it is not apparent that there is much coloring in any landscape except that caused by inherent qualities, as by vari-colored leaves of trees; if they would lie down on the ground and view the scenery horizontally, they would probably have their eyes opened from this unusual vantage point.

There is a well fifteen feet deep at a lonely Indian ranch just on the border, but as the place was found to

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

316 ing the crowd would begin to work as near him as pos-
571 sible. No ill feeling or fights ensued; they would each earn from four to five dollars a day. The miners when
● 515 coming home would always wash after changing their clothes. Considering the trouble of getting water at the only well, their cleanliness may be considered an example even to whites. The women are particularly cleanly, and wash their own clothes frequently as well as those of their husbands.

181 Judge Day and his family, who have been living
577 here among the Indians for so long a time, gave very good reports of their neighbors. He had spent twenty-two years among Indians, and considered the Papago the safest. "As a rule, they are honest," he said, "though there are scalawags among them, but these are discredited by their own race. The women will steal trifles, picking up a rope or the like, but the men will seldom do that. The store often gives an Indian twenty dollars on credit, and he will apologize if he does not pay in ninety days. These Indians, like the Mexicans, are pleased to be in debt, because they consider it an honor to be trusted. If the average native *says* he will pay his debt, he will do so."

854 Like all Indians, the Papagoes are kind to their children, the father no less than the mother. An Indian couple were purchasing some articles in the store while I was present; their strong and fat infant was crying continuously in its mother's arms, she trying vainly to stop its wails. Finally, I saw her, with a few words, hand the babe to her husband, a boyish, good-

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

binding it with a strip of soapweed *(Yucca glauca)*. The hair was brushed with the combination brush and comb made of a bundle of aloe fibers *(Agave americana)*.

The Papago myths tell of Elder Brother wearing bright feathers, probably macaw *(Ara* sp.), and a Spanish account records:

> At San Xavier del Bac and neighboring rancherias there are many macaws which the Pimas raise because of the beautiful feathers of red and other colors, almost like those of the peacock, which they strip from these birds in the spring for their adornment (27, p. 129).

Both sexes wore necklaces and earrings and hunters particularly made handsome necklaces of deer teeth. Women were tattooed with vertical lines on the chin, a woman specialist doing the work for which she was paid a necklace or a basket of corn. Her piercing instrument was four sahuaro needles *(Carnegia gigantea)* tied in a row with a shred of yucca fiber *(Yucca glauca)*. She pinched up the skin between her forefinger and thumb and pierced it, and many patients had crooked lines because they winced. Into the holes she rubbed charcoal from a fire of creosote bush *(Covillea glutinosa)* which leaves a permanent greenish blue color. The ears of both sexes were pierced early in childhood with an ocotillo thorn *(Fouquieria splendens)*.

Paints were made from clay, charcoal, specular iron, and vegetable dyes, and since the upper part of the body was habitually naked it provided plenty of field for design. Vegetable dyes were rather rarely used and then only by women. Red dye was obtained from the root of *Krameria glandulosa* while the pollen of a reed (probably *Arundo donax)* provided a yellow dye. In daily life older men and women did not paint, but smeared deer grease over the body when necessary for warmth, as did hunters and warriors before going on an expedition.

The root of the soapweed *(Yucca glauca)* was dried, pulverized, and mixed with water to form suds for washing the hair.

17:Cassetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

315 the hair. The fruit of the wild pumpkin (*(Cucurbita foetidissima)* is dried and grated into soapy water in modern times to bleach clothes.

302 The buds and blossoms of the catclaw *(Acacia greggii)* were dried and kept among a woman's possessions as a perfume sachet.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

312 Only laborers living in very small labor camps had to skimp on water from trailer-tanks. There was a tank for every 5 cabins, in these camps, although tanks were sometimes ridiculously--and dangerously--small. Farmers haulingwater to their labor camps in this area probably have never even thought of sterilizing their equipment.

In Pinal county a higher proportion of the camps received water directly from wells. Over 90% of them have been built near a well.[1] Nearly all of these wells, about 9 out of 10, supplied water for pipelines to faucets by the cabins. However, the number of persons using each hydrant in 1950 was apparently double that in Pima county. Hydrants outside the cabins were provided at a ratio of 1 to 7½ cabins to ½ per 14 cabins, with the average 1 for each 11 cabins.[2]

CLEANLINESS

• 515 [466] If cleanliness is next to Godliness, the Desert People living in southern Arizona labor camps are amazingly close to their Diety. But it is their own doing, and not that of the farmers operating labor camps. For the cotton growers had made almost no provision for laundering or bathing in their camps in 1950. If pickers were to be clean, they had to struggle against terrific odds of dust, sweat, scrub-boards, and wash pans. What labor camp operators should provide in the way of such facilities is set forth in the suggested labor code we are referring to:

> "Article 7. Laundry, Handwashing, and Bathing Facilities.
>
> "(a) Laundry, handwashing, and bathing facilities shall be provided in the following ratio:
>
> 1 wash basin for every 5 persons.
> 1 shower head for every 10 persons.
> 1 laundry tray or tub for every 40 persons.
> 1 slop sink in each building.
>
> "(b) All bath rooms or utility buildings shall be well lighted and ventilated. Floors and ceilings shall be of smooth finish but not slippery materials and impervious to moisture, and sloped to drain...

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[1] Based on 13 camps on which data was obtained; 12 had wells.

[2] Based on 7 camps averaging 1 hydrant per 10.0 cabins.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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"(c) An adequate supply of hot and cold running water shall be provided in all labor camps for bathing and laundry purposes unless otherwise authorized...in which case facilities for heating water shall be provided.

"(e) Facilities for drying clothes shall be provided."[1]

515 462 These standards are met only on a few small cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties where the farmers have invested in labor efficiency to the extent of installing indoor plumbing for their laborers. In these cases, the facilities for washing and bathing are considerably better than the standards of the suggested labor camp code.

However, if this suggested code were the law of Arizona, over 95% of the growers in both counties would be out of conformance. They provide no washing or bathing facilities beyond a hydrant where workers can obtain water.

296 462 [404] One reason Papago women do not put in a full work-week picking cotton is the amount of time they must spend in the camps washing out clothes in a galvinized tin wash-tub on an old-fashioned wash board. The clothes are hung out to dry on fences and trees in some camps, although most had clothes lines that appeared to be temporary affairs erected by workers rather than camp operators.

515 [415] Bathing in southern Arizona labor camps is a major operation. It is a matter of an enameled wash pan and a cloth, or doubling up in a wash-tub. Arizonans poke fun at migrants bathing in irrigation ditches, but a ditch full of water is the most practicable bathtub in the labor camps --the bather can get wet all over. But if the pump isn't running--and cotton isn't irrigated during picking season--there isn't even water in the ditch.

Papagos and most other cotton pickers in the region manage to keep amazingly clean, considering the difficulties they encounter. Small townspeople who turn up their noses at dirty Indians and Okies might try keeping themselves sweet-smelling under camp conditions before criticising (then they would criticise employers).

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[1] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 41-42.

:byns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Arizona Labor Camps]

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415
404

Cleanliness was a matter of wash tubs . . . scrubboards . . . outdoor lines . . .

296

Improvised clothes lines . . .

515
296
415
404

and wash pans . . .